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someone was hungry while there was food in the village, he had only to sit outside a house where people were eating. It was bad manners to ask for food but equally bad to fail to offer it. One informant objected to having any house too near her own because "they will see us eat and we will have to send them something." If the hungry person owed his trouble to laziness or a stupid wife, he would be talked about and shamed into reform.

Occasionally, disaster overtook a whole family through illness or enemy raids and then it was the responsibility of the village to take care of the sufferers, the most generous man getting the most credit. It is safe to say that no one ever went hungry while there was food in the village for farmers, food gatherers and hunters would all share with him. No definite return was expected except general respect and good will but "if a person got the name of being stingy, he always had a hard time. Even his relatives didn't help him more then they had to" (26).

Papago gift basket.
Quantities are measured by the lines parallel to the basket rim.

In the constant interchange of gifts, certain equivalents had been worked out. The usual container was a basket bowl with a black pattern involving many lines parallel to the rim. A person receiving such a basket would note to what line the corn or beans reached and then fill it to the same point for the return gift. To fill it even higher was an act of virtue but to fill it short of the line was to commit social suicide. The bowls were made in two or three standard sizes so that almost any bowl formed a rough measure. The women's carrying nets were also about the same size with patterns which served for markers. One carrying net was equal to two ordinary basket bowls. There was a rough understanding as to the number of squash or jars of cactus syrup which equaled these measures for corn and beans.

TRADE

Such measures were always kept in mind in the exchange with non-relatives. It was not trade in the full sense, for there was no

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431 bargaining and the merchant looked upon his product somewhat
437 like a ceremonial gift which was being reciprocated. The difference between it and a gift to relatives was that the exchange was supposed to be equal, with no effort of one giver to outdo the other, and that it established no relations for the future.

The most common gift of this sort was venison. Many families included no hunters at all so when a deer was butchered in the village, they would go and proffer a basket of beans or corn. The hunter, when he had distributed what was proper to his relatives, would "give" a piece to the donor of the beans. The latter never specified how much he wanted or from what part but accepted his share like a gift. The same thing is done at present with beef. Usually there was no opportunity for more organized trade for the family needed the whole product. However, I heard of two young men from a family of hunters (I, 1, A. 5, 17) who used occasionally to take their kill to a village where wheat was raised. The villagers had been told it was wheat they wanted and brought baskets of varying sizes, receiving what the hunters thought was their equivalent in venison. In the same way salt, saguaro syrup and melons or other special crops could be "given" to the neighbors. after family demands had been satisfied.

Barter for such luxuries as buckskin and cotton cloth had more of a commercial tinge, for here the purchaser had special needs and could not take any piece offered. Still, there was as little deviation from the gift pattern as possible. The purchaser brought his gift and stated what he wanted. The seller rarely asked for any different pay since the purchaser probably had but the one thing. If it was not enough, the seller reciprocated with poor skins or a small sized mat or blanket. If the gift was entirely too small he might send the buyer home to get something in addition. If it was still to small, he would not complain but would avoid dealing with him in future.

[887] The dresser of deerskin was generally an old hunter who had an equipment of scraping post, tools and dying pots and who traded for his skins with younger men. For a skin, dressed and dyed, he expected corn and beans amounting to two bushels. For the trousers and shirts made later in Papago history, he might receive a horse.

286 Only a few old men in the whole country understood weaving,
431 for very little cotton grew in Papagueria and since it was bartered
437 from the Pima, the weaving was usually done by them also. But
887 ocassionally a family who had been working for the Pima would take their pay in cotton. If they traded for it, the price for enough to make a blanket was half a sack of salt, a buck skin, a hair rope or

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two baskets of beans and corn. Most old men knew how to spin cotton on the thigh and the purchaser's family might spin it or call in the neighbors for a working bee, giving them their meals meanwhile. If they brought raw cotton to the weaver, he got it spun in the same way. The chief articles made were large blankets to sleep on and narrower strips for womens' skirts. For the large blankets the price was a horse or its equivalent in produce or buckskin. The skirt the woman bought, herself, with a good willow basket of her own make.

Plaited baskets, plaited mats, netted carrying baskets and pots were made by elderly women, too old for the heavy work of corn grinding and food gathering. They were not such expensive articles as skins and cloth, an olla being worth enough beans or corn to fill two basket bowls while for a mat the measure was a winnowing bowl.

But besides this exchange among themselves, some Papago made a business of trading trips to the Pima, to Mexico and to the Yuma. These were a winter occupation on the same basis as hunting and sometimes combined with it. The Papago were homeless in the winter and many of them, instead of camping at the Well village wandered about trading their goods or their labor for enough to support them until the wet season came again.

Russell gives a list of the goods which the Papago, supposedly so poor, managed to get together for trade with the Pima. It includes giant cactus seeds, cholla fruit, agave fruit in roasted cakes and syrup, Rcat (wild potato), wild gourd seeds, small peppers, acorns from the Bellota oak, prickly pear syrup, baskets of agave leaf, sleeping mats, carrying baskets and fibre to make them, maguey fibre for picket lines, dried meat of deer, mountain sheep and cows tallow .... deer and beef, ... cheese, buckskin, livestock, red and yellow ochre, buff-colored ochre for baskets, salt.[1] What they wanted in return was food, principally wheat, which they themselves raised only in small quantities. But frequently their price was corn and beans enough to keep them alive. The people who used this expedient came from the northern villages, the Archie and Kuhatk groups and Káka, who were the Pimas' nearest neighbors. They often had relatives in the Pima country or at least friends and they pursued their exchange in the same manner they used at home.

The southern villages had their contacts with Mexico where they took principally dressed skins, cooked mescal from the mountains and their labor. They brought back knives and clothing and the knowledge of a more advanced culture than was to be found on the

[1] Russell pp. 93—94.

WHY the Desert People work

461 464 The Desert People pick cotton because they need the money they are paid for their labor. Cotton harvesting is hard work and dirty, but as one young Papago who picks 300 pounds a day told the author, "$9 a day is a lot of money to me!" Picking cotton is the most practical way for unskilled Papagos to earn any large sum, and Papago cotton pickers superficially come very close to the concept of the economic man governed only by "laws" of economics. But there are deep-lying cultural reasons for this attitude and need among the Desert People.

CHANGE IN VIEWPOINT

177 178 Originally the Papago people lived in a manner quite different than they do today. After unknown centuries in their harsh semi-desert environment, they had worked out a marvelous adjustment to unfriendly nature and a military balance with surrounding Indians. But the Desert People have had some contacts with Europeans for 250 years. During those two and a half centuries, more and more Papago behaviors have changed to approximate European behaviors. Forms, if not meanings, of Papago action are frequently much like our own. Of course, habits and thoughts most central to Papago culture remain Indian in character. The most complete and striking changes have probably occurred in the economic spheres of life.

174 431 437 [224] Once material goods apparently changed hands among the Desert People through a system of gift exchange. A successful hunter divided his kill among families in his village. Later the wife of a good farmer divided some of her tasty dishes so the hunter received an amount roughly equivalent to his meat. Each family was an economic unit if necessary, and no kindred looked beyond its numbers for aid.

195 790 [191] [231] [241] [465] When Spanish missionaries reached the Desert People they set out to change the Indians spiritually and economically. They introduced new crops and domestic animals to the Papagos along with a new religion. Missionaries introduced the Desert People to a work-exchange system, in which Indians were paid in kind for harvesting and other work (and even for attending mass at first)

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179 at the missions. Familiarity with the work-exchange idea prepared Papagos for the system of barter prevalent in the rural areas on the frontiers of New Spain.
[465] At least by the time New Spain won its independence and called itself Mexico the Desert People had begun to
[439] work and trade for money. But their homeland economy was still on a barter basis, and did not go onto a cash basis until after many years of control by Anglo-Americans.

177 Anglos established the first stores the Desert
439 People had seen, and brought a much wider selection of
464 foods and goods to be purchased with cash. Anglos were
465 in the habit of paying for labor in cash rather than kind. As the Indians began to want the new foods and goods their own economy collapsed. Always the Desert People had survived on a very narrow margin in their resource-poor environment. But they always got by. Now as they acquired tastes for new foods and desires for new goods, their resources could not supply the surplus needed to purchase them. The Papagos had to convert their only unexploited resource--their own labor--into the cash they needed to buy new necessities. Their economy changed from a food-gathering-agricultural-hunting-work exchange subsistence economy to a wage labor-agricultural cash economy.

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177 The role Papago women have played in these changes
439 cannot be overemphasized. They found it far easier to prepare and cook foods from trading posts than to gather the desert foods, prepare and cook them. Half the food eaten on the reserves now is purchased.[1] Many articles of Anglo technology--irons, sewing machines, flour, etc. --made women's work easier, and Papago women adopted them. This has meant Papago men and frequently women too had to work for cash to pay for purchased foods and sewing machines and cloth and durable goods.

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464 This need for cash is recognized by the realistic Desert People and moves them to hire out for wage labor. They have wants which they feel strongly. They realize
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their wants can be satisfied only with cash, and they have found cash can be acquired in most cases only by marketing their labor, since it is the major Papago resource. Their other resources simply cannot produce the cash necessary to satisfy their wants.

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[1] Joseph, Spicer and Chesky, 1949, p. 37.